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The inter-state war in Ethiopia. Increasing conflicts and continued “disappointment” with the rules of international law

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Abstract: The aim of this work is to investigate the causes, the beginning of an interstate war in Ethiopia, which also involved neighboring countries of the African continent. The war in Ethiopia has been going back and forth for many decades but without suitable results. The victims are many, democracy does not exist in a country of multiculturalism and vulnerable people suffer above all from the lack of humanitarian aid. The negotiation steps have initiated but without specific results for the people. Reducing wars in the Horn of Africa is now a concrete objective and we hope in the next few years to see the

results. Will this attempt be the conclusion of the war or the opening of a new one?

Keywords: Ethiopia; humanitarian assistance; immigration; international law; armed conflict; peace agreement; Horn of Africa; Tigray war; Sudan; Egypt; protection of human rights; vulnerable people; military conflicts; African Union Commission.

Introduction

The continuous fighting in the Ethiopian area is still a phenomenon of conflict transformations in time. The severity in Ethiopia is the result of a history of many years of a war horror of the “Federal Democratic Republic”¹ that has started in 2020. From a geographical point of view Ethiopia is a country sited in

¹Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1994, Article 1 affirms that: “(...) establishes a Federal and Democratic State structure. Accordingly, the Ethiopian state shall be known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (...)”.

the African horn known for its diversity². Ethiopia was organized as a federation of kingdoms under the sovereignty of the reign of Menelik II³. The idea of establishing a central state was cultivated. His successor Haile Salassie I⁴ was influenced by the Amharic culture and language in 1974. He was overthrown by the coup d'état and replaced by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) (Gebeyehu, 2010) which took the name of the DERG. Its president and Colonel Mengistu

²See in particular:

[https://www.ethiopianreview.com/pdf/001/Cen2007_firstdraft\(1\).pdf](https://www.ethiopianreview.com/pdf/001/Cen2007_firstdraft(1).pdf);

<https://www.ethiopianreview.com/index/48106>;

<https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population/ET>;

Groups interparlementaires d'amitié France-Pays de la Corne de l'Afrique, "Le fédéralisme ethnolinguistique en Éthiopie", Rapport de groupe interparlementaire d'amitié n° 132-1er Avril 2016:

<https://www.senat.fr/ga/ga132/ga132.html>.

³<https://www.britannica.com/place/Ethiopia/Emergence-of-modern-Ethiopia-1855-1916>

⁴<https://www.ethiopiaobserver.com/2020/04/27/king-of-kings-the-triumph-and-tragedy-of-emperor-haile-selassie-of-ethiopia/>

Haile Mariam has followed the footsteps of his predecessors towards a centralization policy of socialist, Marxist-Leninist inspiration for about twenty years. This was a new form of state with profound social changes.

The continuous national discontent especially from 1989 and on was a reality. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF as a form of an alliance was established by four parties. They were part of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)⁵, an organization based on a circular movement that created forms of expansion many times without however being able to arrive at concrete conclusions especially in the front of regional organization.

Also a political alliance with the name of the Ethiopian People's Liberation Front (EPRDF) was created on 8 May 1988 with the support of four opposition groups that had common ideologies

⁵Born in February 1964 in the north of Ethiopia and in the Tigray region after the support of a group of guerrillas with an ethnic-nationalist ideology, thus achieving a political system of self-determination in the Ethiopian region.

(TPLF, ADP, ODP and SEPDM).

It is a rebel action that participated in the Ethiopian civil war between 1974 and 1994 with the aim of fighting against the DERG, which was organized by the Mengist Haile Mariam, in 1987. The DERG was the reason for the rebel forces of association.

A communist-inspired regime against the monarchy fought against the federalist form of government. It was of an ethnic nature and close to the idea of the front. President Mengist was responsible for political repression. He was against the ideas of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and of the Ethiopian Socialist Movement (MEISON) entitled: "Ethiopian Red Terror" (Qey Shibir).

The latter was based on a red civil war and has theorized important the power of political instability after the relative coup of 1974, i.e. during the Ethiopian civil war and the famine of 1983-1985. They are also members of the Oromo ethnic group who were part of the revolutionary movement of Ethiopian

soldiers. The soldiers were part of the DERG and captured by the TPLF.

In 1991 after the collapse of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the EPRDF passed its power to the revolutionary democratic front which identified itself as a variety of centre-left and far-left Marxist political positions. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front was divided into four movements after November 2019 excluding the TPLF, which was part of the “Prosperity Party” and was founded in 2019 by the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali⁶.

This long journey came from the era of the Greeks and Romans to a Balkan age where all historical eras followed a history of cycles of various movements where man was not at the center and did not prevail for a new organization but a contribution of barbaric evolving feelings.

The history of Ethiopia has shown that the Tigrayans are a never-ending story in the Ethiopian area that dates back to the kingdom

⁶<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ethiopian-Peoples-Revolutionary-Democratic-Front>; <https://eprdf.org.et/>

of Aksum and lasted for about a century. Tigray and current Eritrea followed generations of local monarchies for more than a period of anarchy.

During the empires of Tewodros with Ailu leaders of rebel Gondar and after the related Yhoannes empire under the organization of Mircha rebel Tigrino pacifists and the unity of the country had come a long way given the scenes and repeated local wars between the leaders of the regional ethnic groups as noted by the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (ODPO)⁷, the Amara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEDPM). The major belligerents of the TPLF and the Eritrean People's

⁷Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) was a political party in Ethiopia that was founded in 1990 in North Shoa, Dera district in Gundomeskele founded by a group of various individuals, i.e. of various ideologies who were members of the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement who rejected the government of the DERG, i.e. Oromo intellectuals who worked in northern Ethiopia.
<https://eprdf.org.et/EPRDFE/faces/ssi/member.jsp?type=OPDO>

Liberation Front (EPLF) played a very important role for the government resistance in the country especially after the Mengistu government in 1991 (Berhe, 2004).

Mengistu's government had already been overthrown in May 1991 by the group of the same officials and the rebels of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF) given that their help in organizing a capital in Addis Ababa had an aimless concrete success. Mengistu's fear was to fight capital especially after the diplomatic intervention in the United States and the related asylum in Zimbabwe.

In this spirit, the EPRDF captured Addis Ababa. The EPRDF disbanded the workers' party in Ethiopia and arrested all Derg officials in the country. In December 2007, 72 derg officials were found guilty of genocide and 34 people were found in court, 13 died after a long trial and 25 together with Mengistu were tried in absentia.

The EPRDF took power and centralized, in about two decades with the consent of other political parties until 1994, a

transitional government led by Meles Zenawi (De Waal, 2013)⁸, the leader of the TPLF. In a period of two empires he defended itself from attacks by colonizers. Local wars, displacements and famines were the causes of the degradation of the Tigrinya people in a territory that was exposed to external attacks. In Ethiopia, even if the situation was stable for the Tigrayans, it was subject to high discrimination.

In southern Ethiopia, during the Selassie's government, was starting a phase of repression. Farmers were involved in continuous revolts caused by the payment of high sums of money. The political situation and the continuous “revolutions” towards a ethno-nationalist centralism by the Tigrinya people was now a reality. The rebellions against a central state and Tigray passed to the subsequent generations.

The process of democratization and the establishment of an

⁸Keynote address by Mr. Meles Zenawi. Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 03 September 2009:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110927092253/http://www.uneca.org/apf/remarks-meles.asp>

ethnicity for the Ethiopian people especially under the government of Zenawi laid the foundations in the secession of Ethiopia and Eritrea after administrative reforms, where each regional state was named as an ethnic group with the sole exception of the regional state, which had the name “Peoples, nationalities and nations of the south” (Červenka, 1977; Morgan, 1977)⁹.

The relative political domination of the TPLF as well as the Tigrayan people in Ethiopia have caused many tensions especially with the Ethiopian political parties, as a reason for their limited representation in the country. They were not able to represent Ethiopia's diverse, national identity.

In 1994 a new constitution was established¹⁰. It was based on a

⁹Lyons, T. (24 January 2019). Eritrea: The independence struggle and the struggles of independence image. Center for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/eritrea-independence-struggle-and-struggles-independence>

¹⁰<https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/47312/90336/F874480754/ETH47312.pdf>

federal democracy of ethnic inspiration involving nine regions¹¹ in the form of a Parliamentary Republic. Especially, it was composed of a House of Representatives of the People and by the relevant Chamber of the Federation which replaced the old institutional structure. On 21 August 1995 a new Republic was created after the first general elections. It was represented by various parties and the eegis of the prime minister Meles Zenawi who remained in power until 2000 (Verhoeven, 2012)¹².

After Zenawi's power expired, a new prime minister was appointed. i.e. the Hailemariam Desalegn who was former deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. He

¹¹See Art. 39, par. 1 of the constitution of the Ethiopia: “(...) every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession (...)”.

¹²Ethiopians mourn leader's death. Aljazeera, 2012: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2012/8/22/ethiopians-mourn-leaders-death>; Éthiopie. Mort du Premier ministre Meles Zenawi, Encyclopaedia Universalis, 2012: <https://www.universalis.fr/evenement/21-aout-2012-mort-du-premier-ministre-meles-zenawi/>

confirmed the 2012 elections. He supported the development projects and renewed the office of predecessors. The Desalegn government, however, faced various protests from parties that were under the support of the Oromo and Amhara communities in the country (Sandner, 2018).

In 2018, the related state of emergency was proclaimed and the Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn left power until a new head of government was appointed (Karal, 2019)¹³.

The political crisis and the continuous violence in the Oromia area between 2014 and 2016 resulted in displacement and many deaths. The Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn submitted a relevant letter to the Ethiopian parliament and wrote that his choice of a state television channel and his resignation were

¹³https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/aa/Prime_Minister_Hailemariam_Desalegn_resignation_announcement_on_15_February_2018.webm; Ethiopia's prime minister resigns to smooth path for political reform, Euractiv, 2018: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/africa/news/ethiopias-prime-minister-resigns-to-smooth-path-for-political-reform/>.

based on ongoing reforms for peace and democracy of a sustainable nature. Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn left power on 15 February 2018.

After the end of the elections on 2 April 2018, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed Ali, was elected by the House of Representatives as leader of the Oromo Democratic Party (Stigant, Knopfr, 2018; Gladstone, 2018). As soon as Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali came to power he tried to unify the Ethiopian state and restore the relevant political line which since 1991 put an end to the conflict on the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia after the Algiers agreement.

In 2018, Abiy Ahmed set as his goal a political program that introduced the state of war as part of the border that began in 1998 between the Eritrean and Ethiopian people as a goal of a peace, security and cooperation agreement that established the border commission, which was established by the Algiers Agreement to delimit the borders of neighboring countries. Abiy Ahmed's work following the cohesion policy for peace in both

Ethiopia and Eritrea allowed him to win the Nobel Prize in October of 2019.

His program was to release political prisoners from various parties who were in opposition. They have been removed by the government and considered as groups with terrorist objectives.

The prime minister also brought to the table various reforms such as the privatization of state-owned enterprises for railway operators, sugar, industrial parks, hotels, manufacturing companies and state monopolies in the telecommunications, aviation, electricity and logistics, liberalization to other economic sectors, the limits of freedom of the press and the media and, reform the military system within the role of politics and high state officials.

Before the elections the new Ethiopian leader created and was part of the coalition of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Aga, 2018; Schadomsky, 2018) (Gedamu, 2019).

Abiy Amhed's efforts were to open a path of centralization to

reconcile the resistance of opponents and especially the Tigrayan population, at a national level at a time when the coalition of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was undergoing a change in the political stage.

The EPRDF was disbanded and Abiy Ahmed himself organized a new party named “Prosperity Party” (PP). The new party has also included minor parties that were not joined in the past (Atnafu Taye, 2017; Mandami, 2019; Woldemikael, 2019; Willis, 2021). It began to exist on 1 December 2019 and having as a primarily aim to promote ethnic nationalism.

Especially, it aims to promote national unity at the expense of federalism. Prosperity Party won and Abiy Ahmed declared the related protests against opponents and social reactions set the stage for a fair and free election process. The general election in August of 2020 for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was important for the validity of the political line of a government in practice. The TPLF had its basis on ethnonationalism. It complemented the national government policy to a dissolution process that

rejected the transformation of the party, and Abiy Ahmed paved the way for military action in the northern province of Tigray, as an act against any party, who was in power in Ethiopia for years.

What are the points of conflict?

Conflicts have increased and taken root in Ethiopia's history since August of 2020, when the first general elections were declared as a cause of global health emergency. The past was also present and the TPLF proposed to create a technical government with a legislative mandate. The parliamentary decision was unconstitutional and not legitimate.

In June 2021 we had the first elections. The Council of Constitutional Inquiry, as a consultative body for the federation house of parliament in Ethiopia, declared that it proceeded with the relevant elections, which were not active for a year due to the pandemic. The opposition groups accused Abiy using the pandemic as an excuse to prolonge his work in power without defining dates for the next elections. Accordingly, acts and

protests were based on endless bloodshed in the area.

On 9 September 2020, the Tigray area continued its election work, ignoring the relevant assessments of the central government, which led to the nullity and non-legitimacy of the vote¹⁴. The Debretsion Gebremichael's TPLF party has obtained the majority of seats which reached the number of 152 from the 190, i.e. the total of a central government describing thus the illegal character of the elections. This was a response to the cut of funding to Tigray¹⁵.

Since October 2020, after the first clashes, the Ethiopian reconciliation commission has sought mediation through the

14According to Art. 39 of the constitution: “(...) Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession (...)”.

15Ethiopia's Tigray region defies PM Abiy with “illegal” election. France24, 2020: <https://www.france24.com/en/20200909-ethiopia-s-tigray-region-defies-pm-abiy-with-illegal-election-1>; Analysis: Tigray election: beyond defying the central government. Addis Standard, 2020: <https://addisstandard.com/analysis-tigray-election-beyond-defying-the-central-government/>

federal and the regional governments in the Tigray area. Tigrayan forces prevented the new brigade institution from appointing its own power in the region and legislators declared the TPLF a terrorist organization (BBC, 2020; Abiye, 2020). On 2 November 2020 the Wondimu Asamnew, a senior Tigray official declared:

“(...) the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) has deployed on the southern Amhara-Tigray border with the alleged intention of attacking the territory of Tigray¹⁶ and in the same hours, the president of Tigray, Debrestion Gebremichael, announced under the press that the government would attack the territory, a punitive measure due to the dissent given to the extension of the legislative mandate and the subsequent organization of elections for their representatives in parliament

¹⁶See the Declaration of the Wondimu Asamnew, which is affirmed that: “(...) it comes to military mobilisation, it’s not child’s play. It can trigger all-out war ... what they are doing is playing with fire,” (...) “A small spark can ignite the whole region. So I think we are on the alert and I can assure you we are capable of defending ourselves (...)”.

(...)” (Burke, 2020; Hairsine, 2020; Gardner, 2020; BBC, 2020)¹⁷.

The attack began on 4 November 2020. The TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) fought against the Ethiopian National Defense Force-ENDF, who was positioned within the northern headquarters, the capital Mekelle and the bases of Adigrat, Agula, Dansha and Sero. The belligerents continued the conflict by legitimizing self-defense, as a necessary practice, that envisaged an attack by the Ethiopian army.

On 4 November 2020, Abiy Ahmed declared that the TPLF had exceeded the limits. Telecommunications destroyed, banking services and transport suspended in areas of Tigray and the central government intervened against terrorism and replaced government officials including the foreign minister.

The joint forces of the ENDF-Amhara-Eritrea from the east to the west of Tigray facilitated the use of drones called

¹⁷The midnight confrontation that helped unleash Ethiopia's conflict, France 24, 2020: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201127-the-midnight-confrontation-that-helped-unleash-ethiopia-s-conflict>

“Pterosaur”, which fought in the artillery of the opponents' depots. The federation's chamber was illegal and the new Tigrayan government proceeded to a new one that was against the civil war. A clash, with continuous bouts of battles with high numbers of casualties and injuries that included urban disaster.

On the front line the Ethiopian-Eritrean army (the ENDF and the EDF) was operational. Since 2021 the TDF has been operational in the southern part of the occupied territory and intensifying the losses of senior officials of the TPLF party. The rebels committed war crimes in the central-south and south-west. In the Amhara region stole weapons, medicines and destroyed heavy artillery. As of 1 May 2021, the Council of Ministers declared the TPLF and the OLF-Shene as the responsible organizations for attacks against the central government in various other countries. On 28 June 2021 the Tigray Defense Forces-TDF¹⁸ proceeded with full possession of the territory in the city of

¹⁸The Tigrayan forces after the relative defeat in Mekelle withdrew to the mountainous areas in the region and organized the new entitled party: Tigray Defense Forces-TDF.

Mekelle and with great joy of acceptance from the people.

The conflict was going on with the TDF and the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) which were moving towards the western Afar region having as a main objective of breaking road communications in the country, especially in the capital Addis Ababa and in port of Djibouti, which was the maritime trading base in the area.

In 2022, the Ethiopian government declared a temporary suspension of related hostile acts, seeking to initiate negotiations through dialogue for the peaceful resolution of the conflict as a strong basis of hostility.

The truce and the conclusion of a peace towards August 2022 reopened continuous rounds of clashes in the border area connecting Tigray, Amhara and Afar.

Towards the Nairobi Declaration and the Pretoria Agreement

Following a path of peaceful solution through steps and methods

of mediation was now a difficult reality but with many ambiguous faces in practice. After the intervention of the intergovernmental authority for development, in February of 2021, the joint Declaration of the National Congress of Great Tigray of the Tigray Independence Party and of the Salsay Weyane Tigray, were the first that created the conditions for peace.

Hence, a mediation group entitled “A3+1” was composed of three African countries, namely Kenya, Nigeria and Tunisia and non-African countries such as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines for a period of relative truce between March-August 2022, where Ethiopian and Tigrayan officials worked to negotiate, mediate for a peace of the conflict but without results.

The path of negotiation was built on 5 October 2022 by the Ethiopian government and the Tigray, to accept the invitation of Moussa Faki, the president of the African Union Commission-AUC with the aim of following the peace talks through the international department and the South African cooperation in

Pretoria.

The first phase of the negotiations was based on an uncertain climate, where the fighting and the AUC did not reach a stable negotiating stage. The fighter delegates who held the talks were: Redwan Hussien, as national security advisor for Ethiopia and Getachew Reda as government spokesperson and concurrently member of the TPLF central committee assisted by Lieutenant General Tsadkam Gebretansae, for the Tigray area.

The Tigray delegation was open and motivated a peaceful conclusion to reach an agreement, where the delegates were part of the Federal Government of Ethiopia-FGE. The negotiations and documents were aimed at the peace agreement via the ceasefire route and based on the FGE forces as the basis of implementation in the Tigrayan forces.

The proposals of the representatives in stopping the fighting through more political and less legal negotiations related to the prohibited actions, where the support of humanitarian aid and the granting of funds from international donors, necessary for the

reconstruction of the destroyed areas.

On 2 November 2022, the TPLF and the Ethiopian federal government reached the relevant peace agreement in Pretoria, which came into force on 3 November 2022. The agreement had around 15 articles based on the relevant objectives to be achieved, namely:

“(...) the cessation of hostilities, the definitive cessation of hostilities, the protection of civilians, humanitarian access if possible, international borders and federal structures, the federal authority in the Tigray region through the representation of federal institutions, transitional provisions, monitoring, verification, compliance, good faith, communication and amendments to the articles if necessary in the near future (...)”.

Ethiopian and Tigrayan military officials have begun discussions to determine the process of relinquishing weapons to the rebels and how to support humanitarian assistance¹⁹.

On 12 November 2022, the parties also signed the relevant declaration of the Pretoria Agreement in the city of Nairobi

¹⁹According to Art. 5 of the agreement.

revising the relevant suspension clause for the Tigrayan troops eliminating thus heavy armaments of the central and allied forces occurred in the region.

**The “political” involvement of Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea
“after the ceasefire”**

The path of negotiations and the ceasefire as a basis for pacification also had as its path some relations from neighboring countries, such as Eritrea, which signed the Gidda agreement, in 2018. The government of Eritrea and Ethiopia before the civil war in Ethiopia has had good relations with them. The Eritrean forces (EPLF) have military help by the TPLF to overthrow the Derg government and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The two peoples under the spirit of friendship enjoyed peace until 1998, when the government of the TPLF formed the coalition of the party, namely the EPRDF, which declared war on Eritrea based on the border in the town of Badme. In 2000, the conflict ended and an agreement was signed on 12 December

2000 in Algeria, which sought to define in a binding manner two years of the commission, which included in the agreement the border sited in the Badme and Eritrean territory.

Ethiopian government has refused to withdraw troops in the standoff. This was a situation for Eritrea, which believed that the TPLF government was responsible for the loss of lives and the friendly relationship between the two countries. In 2018 after the appointment of Abiy Ahmed Ali to the government of Ethiopia, Eritrea recognized the territorial base of the city of Badme. The Eritrean army helped the Ethiopian government, from a military point of view, and thus continued to have diplomatic, economic and above all political relations in the area.

In the Tigray conflict, the Eritrean army supported the government of Abiy Amhed despite the fact that he was accused of various war crimes and above all for the Axum massacre, as followed by specific reports and the increased number of victims²⁰.

²⁰<https://epo.acleddata.com/dashboard/>

The path to peace especially for Eritrea involved the Pretoria Agreement on post bellum relations with the Eritrean troops, who collaborated with the regional forces in Amhara, and who continued to be responsible for the violence, looting, large number of arrests and deaths and by an express demonstration for peace by the federal government.

In the Horn of Africa, Somali territory, information was circulating that this situation was not affordable for the soldiers, who were in Somalia, in Asmara and in Eritrea after training by Eritrean troops. After a year the clash was confirmed by Somali support in the Ethiopian-Eritrean military campaign. The battles and the humanitarian consequences on the border north-east of Tigray involved people who had to leave Sudan. The migration phenomenon from Africa was now a reality despite the attempts of the Prime Minister of Sudan, Abdalla Hamdok, and of Ethiopia, Abiy Amhed Ali, to convene the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to consider a suitable solution to the controversy.

In 1986, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development was created, a type of international political-commercial organization for the countries of the Horn of Africa. Among the main objectives were food security, environmental protection, prevention, conflict resolution management for humanitarian affairs, infrastructure development.

The war did not cause a humanitarian crisis and did not resolve the situation between Sudan and Ethiopia. The triangle between the humanitarian and migratory crisis is located in the Al-Fashaga area in the State of Al Quadarif, a place with a rich agricultural area that many states wanted to buy it. On the same territory, the compromise of a land that has lost so many victims of the Ethiopian people meant that the Sudanese government had to maintain administrative control. A peaceful road where towards 2020 it lost its way when the Sudanese forces, within a camp of Abiy Amhed Ali's army, were engaged in the war in Tigray trying to conquer the territory, which was distancing the Ethiopian farmers and the tensions, when the military in Amhara

was in attack with the Sudanese army for security reasons, in the border of Ethiopia.

The old disputes and the consequences for the victims and the wounded between the civil fighting and the increase of wounded and victims were together with the confiscations of land ownership to direct the actions towards new reconciliations but without a concrete way out.

The relationship and the Al-Sudani conflict in Sudan since April of 2023 has put the Sudanese troops to go against the Ethiopian army and especially in the Al-Fashaga area provoking as a result more injuries, casualties and deaths.

The escalation in Al-Fashaga was the reason for a conflict where the dispute, over the construction in the area of Ethiopia of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Blue Nile to continue a new conflict without borders and within a spirit of continuous instability in stakeholder relations in the area such as Sudan, Ethiopia and certainly Egypt, was evident.

The impact of the conflict on international stage

For those who study international conflicts, what is happening in the Tigray war, if we call it that, is a very difficult and above all dangerous matter, especially because we have many countries involved and neighboring ones where the armies in conflict have violated international law through various crimes ranging from crimes against war, crimes of humanity and genocide. Crimes that include sexual violence, torture, confiscation of food and animals, looting of infrastructure and sacred places in the Tigray area. The many deaths, the continuous hostilities as we read from the reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as signs of rape in the hospitals of Mekelle, Ayder, Agridat and Wukro in the eastern territory of Tigray and in the Amhara region are increasing day by day due to a dam that was built in the Blue Nile River in Ethiopia since 2011, known as the Millennium Dam.

The dam was stable in the Benishangul-Gumuz region of Ethiopia, i.e. east of the border with Sudan and financed through

bonds and donations within Ethiopia. ENDF and allied troops adding to the flow of casualties. The report from the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International for the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments was important given that they accused the people of Tigray of carrying out “ethnic cleansing”, through the massacre in the city of Mai Kadra in Welkiat, following the continuous mass murders against the Tigrayan population, that were exceeding the 600 dead.

The report by Amnesty International and the Ethiopian Commission on Human Rights (EHCR) spoke of more than 63,000 people having to leave the country towards western Tigray in territories in neighboring Sudan and around two million in areas close to the region.

The government itself placed restrictions on the support of humanitarian aid to Tigray because the risk was very high and the mobilization, especially of non-governmental organizations, was a difficult reality (York, 2022).

The humanitarian emergency had to do with food, medical and housing assistance, especially because drinking water, the lack of infrastructure and transport, the destruction of sacred places, the weakness of vulnerable people such as children and women that they suffered sexual abuse was now a truth that we see a reconstruction through the statements of the high representative of the European Union, Joseph Borrell, which are expressed for the brutalities that occurred in Tigray in support of Ethiopia.

Economic aid for refugees and children affected by famine and malnutrition, were the main concerns of the European Parliament, that called for humanitarian access. Moreover, the European Parliament condemned sexual violence caused by ethnic cleansing and called for a peaceful solution, as a reality, which in practice is understandable but difficult to implement for the area. Monitoring the ceasefire for the European context is a reality every time events go beyond diplomacy and the guarantees of international law.

Concluding remarks

From what we have understood from the previous paragraphs, the civil war in Ethiopia has the same characteristics as those wars that we have seen in the past not only on the African continent but everywhere. The way of cybernetics in the field of modern warfare and the vulnerability of people who are harmed to a virtual world put the use of electronic technologies, information technology and telecommunications systems at a stake. Thus, yet another civil conflict to an unsafe, precise concept is developing where the participating states have committed several steps especially in the diplomatic, political, cultural, economic sector to an armed conflict for the African history.

While we talk about civil war we are referring to an intra-state conflict that took two forms, a first war of secession and the related war of succession. The war of secession was based on the formation of an independent country, for example through the war in Tigray. Instead the War of Succession referred to people

fighting the ruling authorities such as Arab uprisings in Libya, Syria and Yemen.

The goals of an intra-state war weakened the government's control over its territory and led to state failure. Intra-state conflicts arose, which developed consequences such as famines, deaths, weakening of the health system and access to assistance. This is a reality in the area where the problems were still open and without way of success.

The conflict we investigated is intra-state but also inter-state. African dynamics respond to conflicts. The post-war period is, therefore, now distant and insecure. The dynamics resemble those of a world conflict where ethno-political conflicts replace the ideological clashes of a post-war period especially after the fall of regimes, which can be seen in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa as results, which affected and increased internal conflicts especially after 2000. Africa always has, always, the first place in intra-state conflicts (Bosetti, Einsiedel, 2015).

Battles continue and war operations are increasing. The state is the only subject, which makes use of force. The types of conflict are a political reality of an international system, where the causes are many and conflicts destroy regional cultures. National interests were variable due to the economic, social, political, cultural context that characterized the African continent.

This situation has produced an instability climate to the borders. State identity contains a variety of cultures, which suffer of serious disorders of certain rights during the war conflicts. Thus, population was in need of peace and democracy. The political instability was for the population to the beginning of a conflict an element that produces warlike conflicts.

The international stage is full of conflicts of various types but with the final result a war. In such a case the victims are many. The roots of the war are different and the causes are multiple. The process of democratization especially in the African sector has to do with the past and the present as a surface, where the current problems do not forget the past and which corrects the

future through other conflicts, contributing in such a way to the history of human beings.

In sum, these new paths of realization both personal and social are authors of causes for the current conflicts and those that follow.

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